

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3302
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 4066

EXDIS/SALT

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF MAY 24, 1977
(SALT TWO - 1188)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MAY 24, 1977

BEGIN TEXT:

I

TODAY WE ARE HOLDING THE FIRST MEETING OF THE DELEGA-
TIONS SINCE THE CONCLUSION OF THE TALKS IN GENEVA BETWEEN
A. A. GROMYKO, MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO OF THE CENTRAL COM-
MITTEE OF THE CPSU, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE
USSR, AND CYRUS VANCE, SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

AS YOU KNOW, IN THE COURSE OF THE TALKS AT THE MINIS-
TERIAL LEVEL DETAILED CONSIDERATION WAS GIVEN TO THE STATE
OF AFFAIRS CONCERNING PREPARATION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ON
THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS ON THE BASIS OF
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THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE RESULTS
OF SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS. AS IS EVIDENT FROM THE JOINT
COMMUNIQUE RELEASED MAY 21, 1977, PROGRESS WAS ACHIEVED IN
DEFINING THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.
AS A RESULT OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, WE NOTE THAT THE
POSITIONS OF THE SIDES HAVE COME CLOSER TOGETHER WITH
RESPECT TO SOME OF THOSE QUESTIONS WHICH HAD NOT BEEN AGREED

UPON EARLIER. THE SIDES AGREED THAT DISCUSSION OF ALL UN-
AGREED QUESTIONS WILL BE CONTINUED FOR THE PURPOSE OF CON-
CLUDING, AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, THE NEW AGREEMENT WHICH
WILL REPLACE THE INTERIM AGREEMENT ON CERTAIN MEASURES WITH
RESPECT TO THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

THUS WE, TOO, WILL HAVE OUR SHARE OF GREAT AND IN-
TENSIVE WORK TOWARD WORKING OUT THE DRAFT OF THE NEW
AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS
AND COMPLETING ITS PREPARATION. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT
THE TERM OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT EXPIRES IN OCTOBER OF
THIS YEAR, THIS WORK IS INTENSIVE AND MOST IMPORTANT IN
TERMS OF TIME AS WELL.

THE USSR DELEGATION IS PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN A BUSI-
NESSLIKE AND CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE ON THE WHOLE RANGE OF
THE QUESTIONS ASSIGNED TO US, IN ORDER TO RESOLVE THEM ON
THE BASIS OF MUTUAL ACCEPTABILITY AND IN FULL ACCORD WITH
THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY, EQUAL SECURITY AND
INADMISSIBILITY OF UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE. OF COURSE, IN
TERMS OF ACHIEVING POSITIVE RESULTS NOT EVERYTHING DEPENDS
UPON THE SOVIET SIDE. MUCH DEPENDS UPON THE POSITION OF
THE U.S. SIDE.

AS L. I. BREZHNEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, RECENTLY EMPHASIZED, SUCCESSFUL
COMPLETION OF THE GREAT WORK INVOLVED IN PREPARING THE NEW
AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS
WOULD BE OF IMPORTANT AND FUNDAMENTAL SIGNIFICANCE FROM
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THE STANDPOINT OF THE OVERALL CLIMATE OF SOVIET-AMERICAN
RELATIONS, AS WELL AS BECAUSE THIS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY
STIMULATE NEW AND MORE FAR-REACHING INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS
TO CURB THE ARMS RACE.

NATURALLY, WE EXPECT THAT THE U.S. SIDE, TOO, WILL
TAKE THE SAME CONSTRUCTIVE AND BUSINESSLIKE APPROACH -- AND
HERE AGAIN I HAVE IN MIND THE LEVEL OF DELEGATIONS.

II

MR. AMBASSADOR,

IN THE COURSE OF PREVIOUS NEGOTIATIONS IN CONNECTION
WITH DISCUSSION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT, CONCERNING
LIMITATIONS ON LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH
MIRVS, THE DELEGATIONS GAVE CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO REACH-
ING AGREEMENT UPON THE PROCEDURE FOR COUNTING WITHIN THE
1,320 AGGREGATE LEVEL ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS UNDERGOING

CONVERSION FOR MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

THE SIDES HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT, REFLECTED IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT AS OF NOVEMBER 20, 1976, TO THE EFFECT THAT ARTICLE VI, PAR. 3 OF THE DRAFT, CONTAIN APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS ON THIS SCORE.

PART OF THE WORDING OF THIS PARAGRAPH IS AGREED. THE RELEVANT QUESTIONS STILL REMAINING UNRESOLVED HAVE BEEN THOROUGHLY ANALYZED BY THE SOVIET SIDE. IN OUR VIEW, WE HAVE THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS TO COMPLETE WORKING OUT THE PROVISIONS ON THESE QUESTIONS FOR INCLUSION IN THE DRAFT TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT.

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TW GENEVA 4066

EXDIS/SALT

IT FOLLOWS FROM THE DISCUSSIONS HELD THAT IN ESSENCE WE TAKE THE SAME APPROACH TO THE QUESTION OF APPROPRIATELY COUNTING SLBM LAUNCHERS UNDERGOING CONVERSION WITHIN THE 1,320 AGGREGATE LEVEL. THE WORDING PROPOSED FOR ARTICLE VI, SUBPAR. 3 (B), TO THE EFFECT THA SLBM LAUNCHERS UNDERGOING CONVERSION FOR MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS BE COUNTED WITHIN THE 1,320 AGGREGATE LEVEL WHEN THE SUBMARINE FIRST GOES TO SEA AFTER COMPLETION OF WORK ON THEIR CONVERSION, ADEQUATELY AND FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS RECORDS ONE OF THE LIMITATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE AGREEMENT ON LAUNCHERS OF MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. AS YOU KNOW, SUCH AN APPROACH TO COUNTING SLBM LAUNCHERS PURSUANT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT HAS FULLY PROVEN ITS EFFECTIVENESS.

STRIVING FOR PROGRESS IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED, INCLUDING THOSE OF THE U.S. SIDE, AT THE SEPTEMBER 22, 1976 MEETING THE USSR DELEGATION TABLED A PROPOSAL TO THE EFFECT THAT ICBM LAUNCHERS NOT SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATION PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE V OF THE DRAFT BEING WORKED OUT BE COUNTED WITHIN THE 1,320 OVERALL LEVEL

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AT THE FINAL STAGE OF ACTIVITIES FOR THEIR CONVERSION FOR MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE SIMILARITY OF THE APPROACHES OF THE SIDES TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THIS QUESTION, WHICH BECAME APPARENT IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSIONS, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE WORKING GROUP, THE DELEGATIONS COULD AGREE ON AN APPROPRIATE PROVISION ON THE BASIS OF THE AFOREMENTIONED FORMULATION.

AS FOR THE TERM "FINAL STAGE OF ACTIVITIES", REFERRING TO CONVERSION, ITS DEFINITION COULD BE AGREED UPON IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION. DEFINITION OF THIS TERM WOULD IN SUBSTANCE BE A COMPONET PART OF THE CORRESPONDING PROCEDURES WHICH, ACCORDING TO THE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING REACHED, AND RECORDED IN THE JOINT PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XVII, SUBPAR. 2 (E), ARE TO BE AGREED UPON WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SCC.

THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT INASMUCH AS THE SIDES INTEND TO SPECIFY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ARTICLE VI WHEN ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS UNDERGOING CONVERSION WOULD BEGIN TO BE SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATION UNDER ARTICLE V, PAR. 1, ARTICLE VI SHOULD ALSO INCLUDE A PROVISION SPECIFYING THE POINT IN TIME WHEN LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, UNDERGOING CONVERSION FOR MISSILES NOT EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, WOULD CEASE TO BE COUNTED WITHIN THE 1,320 LEVEL.

PROVEEDING FROM THE ABOVE, THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSES TO REOCD THAT CORRESPONDING ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS CEASE TO BE SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATION PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE V OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT THE MOMENT CONVERSION ACTIVITIES ARE INITIATED.

IN THIS CONNECTION, A COMMON UNDERSTANDING REGARDING
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THE MOMENT OF INITIATION OF CONVERSION ACTIVITIES COULD BE
AGREED UPON IN THE SCC IN WORKING OUT CORRESPONDING PROCE-
DURES.

THE USSR DELEGATION PROPOSES THAT THE DRAFTING GROUP
CONTINUE CONSIDERATION OF THESE QUESTIONS FOR THE PURPOSE
OF WORKING OUT APPROPRIATE, MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE WORDING.

END TEXT. WARNKE

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